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ROSS'S REVIEW

OF

M^CLELLAN'S PAMPHLET

AND

GREAT LIBERAL POLICY

OF

COLCHESTER.

HALIFAX, N. S.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

1851.

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ROSS'S REVIEW, &c.

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To the Electors of the County of Colchester.

GENTLEMEN—

A Pamphlet of twenty two folios dated at Londonderry, March 1851, and Signed G. W. McLELLAN, has been put into my hand by an esteemed friend—one of my late Constituency, with a request that I should give the people of this County some explanations of the charges made by McLellan against me in this Pamphlet.

I felt so indifferent to any *opinion* which G. W. McLellan might publish or express about my public conduct while I had the honour to represent this County, that I concluded, on the spur of the moment, to let it go *unanswered*, with all the weight of truth and character it might derive from the respectability and veracity of the author.

Before I sat down to read it I was prepared to meet with unblushing falsehoods, facts perverted, and distorted calculations, with no small sprinkling of self-praise and slanderous accusations against the vile Tories,—and I was not disappointed. In this respect, he has shewn a consistency of character peculiarly his own. But, Gentlemen, I was not prepared to meet instead of his *opinions*, gross and *flagrant forgeries* given as extracts from the Journals of the Assembly, written with all the deception that could be practised by an *old offender in the crime of forgery*, to make them appear as literal quotations.

And here let me premise, that although the whole production bears satisfactory evidence of the *Old Rogue's* wiles, yet the classification, orthography and composition prove that a more polished Slanderer gave assistance to garnish the *lie* before it was served up to deceive the people.

He has ransacked the Journals for the four years I had the honour to represent this County, for the purpose of furnishing some proof of my incapacity as a Legislator and for raising himself in your estimation. I will presently shew you that the labour he has bestowed upon this compilation of *slanderous forgeries* will fall short of accomplishing his object, and sink the name of G. W. McLellan still lower in the estimation of all such as regard truth and fair dealing as an essential element in the character of those who would be legislators. The gross falsehood with which he attempted to deceive the people on the last nomination day, and the unblushing impudence with which he asserted that the Journals of 1850 were garbled by the chairman of the Committee on public accounts, to assist the Tories at the last Election, are fair specimens of his general character. The plot now hatched has the same object, and shall receive a similar refutation and exposure; and here I would further remark, that I regard the individual as being destitute of the ordinary decencies of civilized life, and reckless of the feelings of his own family, who will perpetrate such gross violations of truth as to render it necessary on the part of the party slandered and misrepresented, to have recourse to such plain language as that which I am obliged to employ in my own defence in this instance.

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I shall now take up his accusations against me in the same order in which I find them.
1st. "Mr. Ross, the member, said—No, gentlemen, Sir R. D. George's Salary of one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, as Secretary, must not be reduced to seven hundred pounds a year. (See Report of Committee on civil list Bill of 1844.)"

Now, Gentlemen, are you prepared to hear that there is no report of any Committee on the civil list of 1844; that neither my name nor any other name appear on the Journals in connection with the civil list, and that the whole of the language attributed to me by G. W. McLellan, as well as the allusion to the Report of the Committee, is an *infamous forgery*. Yet such is the fact; and I now call upon him to show any Report or my name or any other name in connection with it on the Journals of 1844, at the nomination day at the next election, as he has promised to do. But, gentlemen, I will tell you what I do find on the Journals of 1844, with reference to the civil list. Page 126.

"Mr. Ross moved that the House do come to the Resolutions following, viz:—
"1. *Resolved*, That this Assembly, and the People they represent, duly appreciate the constitutional right about to be surrendered by the Crown to this Colony, by the transfer of the Casual and Territorial Revenues, in lieu of a Civil List providing adequately and permanently for the maintenance of such Officers as are chargeable on those funds; and that this House have been actuated by a spirit of justice and liberality in granting a Civil List, with a view to comport with the sound policy which induced Her Majesty to submit the question of commutation, untrammelled with any specific stipulation as regards the amount of compensation.

"2. *Resolved*, That while this House acknowledge the increased constitutional power of this branch of the Legislature to appropriate all the *Revenue* raised in this Colony, as an extension of popular rights, yet they cannot overlook the fact, that this privilege is accompanied with conditions, as regards the source from whence those Revenues are derived, calculated to mar not only an increase of Revenue, but also the enterprise and industry of the Inhabitants—inasmuch as a certain Lease, made by the Crown in the year 1826, conveyed, for 60 years, to His late Royal Highness the Duke of York, all the Mines of Nova Scotia Proper, reserving only the Coal Mines in Pictou, called the "Albion Mines"—since which the crown also transferred, or agreed to transfer those Mines, as well as those of the Island of Cape Breton, to the Sub-Lessee of the late Duke of York, now known as the "General Mining Association"—thus giving the sole control, management, and right, to work *all* the Mines of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton to one body of individuals—powers too dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people to be recognised by this Assembly.

"*And whereas*, the article of Coal enters largely into the value of every species of Manufactures, and also, as fuel, constitutes an important item in the necessary expense of the great bulk of the people of Nova Scotia; *And whereas*, the extensive privileges enjoyed by the General Mining Association, of supplying this article solely, from the extensive beds with which this Province abounds, (surpassed in extent and variety no other portion of Her Majesty's Dominions,) must necessarily entail upon the enterprise and industry of the people oppressive and unconstitutional exactions, (unavoidable results, when free and unrestricted competition is prevented,) producing effects equally baneful to their present comforts, and subversive of their future prospects in rearing Manufactures, and encouraging Steam Navigation and Commerce: *Resolved therefore*, that the Committee appointed to draw up an Address on the subject of the Civil List, be instructed to bring the subject matter under the notice of Her Majesty, and respectfully request that the "Albion Mines" in Pictou, and all the Mines in the Island of Cape Breton including those of Sydney and Bridgeport, may be transferred to the management of the Colonial Legislature, subject to no Lease, as they have reason to believe is now the case, so that this House may be enabled to guard against the evils apprehended in the foregoing Resolutions; and this House pledge themselves to maintain inviolate any existing agreement between the Imperial Government and the General Mining Association, that does not endanger the general interests of the Colony, or shackle the rights and enterprise of the people."

"Which, being seconded, and a debate ensuing thereon,

"The Hon. Mr. Dodd moved that the question be now put: which, being seconded and put, and the House dividing thereon, there appeared, for the last mentioned motion, (being the previous question) four: against it, twenty-nine.

For the Motion—

Mr. Fairbanks
 " Ross
 " Holmes
 " Whitman

Against the Motion—

Hon. Atty. General Mr. Marshall
 Mr. W. Young
 " Dimock
 Hon. Mr. Dodd
 Mr. Wilkins
 " Fraser
 " G. Smith
 " Spearwater
 " Freeman
 " Clements

Mr. Dickey
 " Huntington
 " Des Barres
 " McKeagney
 " Doyle
 " Comeau
 " Fulton
 " Howe
 " McLellan

So it passed in the negative; and thereupon,
Ordered, That the questions on the Resolutions be not now put."

Here we find the name of this pure patriot, this talented statesman throwing the whole weight of his intelligence (?) into the scale in favour of the General Mining Association, the most oppressive monopoly that ever disgraced the records of any country, and crippling the enterprise of the constituency of Londonderry whom he then misrepresented; and he now has the hardihood to endeavour to mislead them by forgeries and right down falsehoods.

But, Gentlemen, had he not thus compelled me to charge home upon his misdeeds, in self defence, I should consider him rather as an object of silent contempt than that of censure, for he has neither the historical information, talent, nor education, to comprehend any subject above the *local low paltry politics of Party*.—Nor any emotion of a higher object than fanning the flames of faction to keep himself before the public as a profound politician. He has sense enough to see that he will sink to his natural level when the people regard the general good, as superior to party feuds.

2nd. Again " £600 a year is not enough for doing the duties of Treasurer; he must have another hundred pounds this year. See Journals of 1845 page 351."

Now, Gentlemen, I find the following Resolution, on the page here referred to.
 13th " *Resolved*, that the sum of one hundred pounds be granted and paid to the treasurer of the Province for his extra services in issuing and cancelling treasury notes during the past five years."

On the next Page, 352, I also find that Mr. McLellan moved that the 13th Resolution, for granting, £100 to the treasurer, be not received by the House; for the motion three; Huntington, McLellan & Crowell, against the motion, thirty six." I also found the following names on the same side that I voted for: Howe, J. B. Uniacke, McNab, Desbarres, Doyle, Ross. The first three of the gentlemen just named are now leading members of the Government, which he (McLellan) now supports. One of them is a Judge, the other was, and for ought I know, is still a member of the Executive Council. It is plain therefore that if I committed a political sin, in this instance I did so in the company of gentlemen who were then in opposition to the government. But who would despise doing an act of injustice to an officer of that government out of a factious spirit, and would scorn the mean trick of recording their names as economists, as mere clap-trap to gain popularity, as McLellan does almost invariably.

But as I have no time nor inclination to write a volume, as he has done, I proceed to the next charge, with this assurance that on nomination day I will revert to this subject again, and perhaps shew that *intercepting the public revenue before it gets to the treasury* is as great a crime in my estimation as paying a debt accumulating for five years, although due to a treasurer who, *at the instigation of McLellan*, has committed irregularities, which in other countries would have expelled them both from the Provincial building and the presence of honest men.

3rd, Again, "Mr Ross the member says, No, gentlemen, the monopoly held by Sir Rupert D. George, for Recording Deeds, must not be reduced. See same Journal Page 359."

I have the same plea that I had in the case of the Treasurer, *I was in good company*. In the first division upon this Resolution I find that I voted on the same side as Huntington, Howe, G. R. Young, J. B. Uniacke, DesBarres, Doyle, McNab. It does not appear that McLellan was present as his name is not recorded in this division, but two other divisions took place in which his name does appear. But I find no record of

the language ascribed to Mr. Ross in this *lying* pamphlet. More of this on nomination day also. If he does not produce the Journals *I will*.

4th. "No, Gentlemen, I will not take the £150 a year to school the poor in Colchester, according to Mr. Huntington's resolution. The colleges must have the money; the rich must be educated, who cares for the poor. See Journals 1845 page 324.

These are sentiments which according to McLellan's quotations, you would naturally look for on the page to which he refers. He knew full well that you had no possible opportunity to consult the volume, as there are few or none in the Country available to that class of people whom it was his interest to deceive. But Mr. Huntington's Resolution speaks for itself and is as follows:

"That the resolution of yesterday granting £250 to 'Acadia College' be rescinded, with a view towards granting £150 to each County to be applied to such purposes as the members representing such Counties may suggest in aid of education; for the motion eighteen, against it, twenty eight." Against the motion, Howe, G. R. Young, Ross, Messrs J. B. Uniacke and Doyle not being present. Here again we find the most prominent leaders of the great liberal party, and gentlemen who but two years before, travelled to Onslow and Londonderry to persuade the people to assist them to establish one College in Halifax on the ruins of 'Acadia College, vote for granting the £250 to this Institution as well as Ross who was their chief opponent in their crusade against the Colleges in the Country in 1843. They were elected under pledges to put down these Colleges and build an university in Halifax.—Ross was elected because he opposed that policy and convinced the people of Colchester at public meetings called by Messrs. Howe and Young that such a policy would be prejudicial to the general interests of the Country. Yet *Solon* McLellan has just discovered—that the man who carried out in the Legislature the principles he advocated at the Hustings is a great scamp and a tory—who by redeeming his pledges has forfeited McLellan's confidence; whilst those who had to abandon their previous views and voted as Ross did, are now members of the Responsible government which he adores, and leaders of the great liberal party, of which he is a devout and worthy member!!!

5. Again "No, gentlemen, the labourer's wages on the road will not be four shillings a day—they must be reduced to three shillings and six pence" (Journal, of 1845, page 279.) The facts are as follows: Mr. Fulton, who by the bye although generally right, sometimes condescends to ape the liberal in recording his vote *to catch* popularity like McLellan, moved, "that the Bill for the road service be referred back to the Committee for the purpose of raising the wages of labourers to four shillings per day *and commissions to five per cent on all sums*—for the motion nine, against the motion twenty-five."

Against the motion, Howe, McNab, J. B. Uniacke, G. R. Young, Ross. Now gentlemen this is the last count in McLellan's Inditement against Ross. Wipe your spectacles, go back and compare the quotations I made from his pamphlet with the *facts* as they appear on the Journals and ask yourselves this question—What could be McLellan's object in writing such stuff? Could it be to get Ross to write another pamphlet, when he ought to be planting his potatoes or extending the sale of his Metallic Paints in the foreign markets, or has he an eye to the Attorney Generalship, the Provincial Secretary's office or the Receiver Generalship, for the Gentlemen who hold those offices are equally guilty with Ross of the crimes charged upon him? Yes Gentlemen; the latter idea is the game he would like to play. I am informed, that yesterday the leaders of great liberalism held a meeting in the Court House and nominated McLellan's and two fit associates, with the Financial Secretary, to Represent this County—one of them a lawyer, who would like amazingly to retire from the bench (the Court of Probate) and go to the head of the Bar as Attorney General—McLellan has displayed his capability of being Provincial Secretary, as a Pamphleteer, and the Tatamagouche Exciseman will be quite the man to look after the cash in such a Cabinet, and you all know by this time that the Financial Secretary has declared his policy to be *to support the party whether right or wrong* (his speech on the last nomination day) and enlighten the legislature as to the mode of building the Railway from an American almanack.

Yes, Gentleman, just fancy such a consummation of Responsible Government and then allow the imagination to anticipate the influences which has brought them into the field as Candidates, to have all the power unchecked as in 1842.—House of Stirling, "Bible Hill" and "Corn Hill" would then flourish, whether *you* would is another question; re-

collect also, that the Tiuro Bridge in 1842 cost upwards of £1100 and the Onslow Bridge in 1845, built by the Tories cost £295; don't forget the advantages poor men in Londonderry enjoyed under McLellan previous to 1844, in *continually patching* a raft of old Hemlock logs, miscalled Bridges, on the main Post Road, receiving their pay in tobacco at sixpence per fig and Corn at 7s. 6d. per Bushel, and then you may form some idea of Responsible Government in Colchester, during the next parliament, if these men should obtain their seats in the assembly. In sober seriousness ask yourselves *who are the men who met together in private in the grand Jury Room of this County to make such a selection, and what is the County to gain by such a choice?* ask yourselves, is it proper that the man who sits in judgment on the conflicting interests arising from the settlement of *all the Real Estate of this County*, go about asking your votes, whose property may be at his disposal when he is thus canvassing, coupled with the fact, that such a vote if given, necessarily involves that the important duties of this Court shall be suspended for three months each year *and that decisions may be withheld* until after the election to intimidate electors from exercising their well understood wishes at the Poll! You are perhaps aware that very recently, important disclosures have been made in the collection of the revenue in this county. This as well as the great ability which the Financial Secretary has exercised in the recent charge of officers in the Londonderry Post office—and how fraud was attempted to be compromised to feed the faction, who saved his salary of £600 at the last election. If you approve of such doings as the acts of your Representatives then send the Collector of Excise from Tatamagouche to give his assistance in carrying out such measures, and you are sure not to be disappointed. But I do not apprehend any such issue, and I only touched a few features of their combinations and their operations could they only deceive the people and keep up a spirit of faction. It is but fair to state, however, that the Judge of Probate has actually repudiated openly to indorse McLellan's Pamphlet, and ordered it to be removed out of his office. Let him also relinquish his office as Judge of Probate, and then he will be in a position to ask the suffrages of the people without insulting their understanding and outraging the fundamental principles of responsible government. A complete exposure of *mock* responsible Government, which the leaders of a faction are now attempting to palm upon the people of this County by gross misrepresentations would take more time than I can now afford to bestow upon it,—indeed I am informed on good authority that the leading members of the present government are heartily sick of the factious spirit, and the fruits it has produced in the Country. I hope this is true, and if so, the best way to bring about a better order of things is to let by-gones be by-gones—and that I and those who support me have been impressed with this desire since the election of 1847, is satisfactorily proved from the fact that although *their* feelings and constitutional rights as a body have been repeatedly insulted and violated—yet they did not agitate the Country with public meetings—they did not circulate addresses for signatures and send Delegates to the Capital asking the Government to dissolve the House because their opinions were not those of the majority, as in 1845. No, gentlemen, they did none of those things, they had and have still a confiding hope that *the people will throw off* the bandages of faction, when the proper time comes—and that the *people* (not those who live, move and have their being *as a party*, by deceiving the people and living on the fruits of office) will make such a selection as will restore peace to our hearts and prosperity to our impoverished country, by *encouraging our own labour upon our own soil* and develop our natural rich resources by public works, commenced, constructed, and afterwards conducted, by the united exertions, wisdom and enterprise, of capable men of both parties, with the assistance and supervision of the Legislature. These are desirable objects, and you and you alone, have the power to accomplish them or continue things in the wretched state into which we have unfortunately fallen.

At a meeting of gentlemen from every settlement of this County, recently held, I was solicited to offer as a Candidate for this County at the approaching general election. I have responded to that call, and I have reason to believe that I will receive the support of many who voted against me in 1847 who were deceived by the misrepresentations of McLellan and the faction who are now trying to deceive them again. If I succeed in again attaining the honour of being your Representative, I will do as in time past. I will vote on every question according to the dictates of my best judgment, despising the low trickery of recording my vote for measures, of which I dis-

approve, merely because another view may be popular, or used as a deception to gain my next election. This is the course I despise! on settling the civil list in 1844—this course brought me frequently to vote with Howe, J. B. Unisacke, Doyle, McNab, Desbarres and George H. Young, as you will perceive has been the case on *all the votes* censured by McLellan in his precious political party Budget. If on the other hand your choice should fall on others, I will pursue the same course in private life that I did since 1847,—exercise every faculty I possess to develop the resources of the country, which contains everything I hold dear in temporal matters; although my individual efforts as a private individual would be quite insignificant as compared with the influence derived from being your Representative. I need not tell you gentlemen, that the information I possess of the mode of making and managing Railways is not derived from old Almanacks—nor is the knowledge I possess of the ruinous influence the coal monopoly of the General Mining Association confined to the fraud committed on the Revenue in the sale of Slack coal without paying the duty.—Nor are my views of protection to home manufactures an open question to suit my canvass at an election and support a Government in the Legislature who stakes its existence on unmitigated free trade, as does McLellan. I have a few copies of a pamphlet published by me last year under the signature of a "Colonist" giving my opinions without reserve on the ruinous influences of the General Mining Association (who are chiefly rich manufacturers in England) at the Colonial office to keep the resources of the British Provinces in America sealed up, so as not to interfere in the Colonies or the U. States, with the consumption of British manufactures. I shall send a few of them to each settlement, so that you may thoroughly understand my views upon this important subject. My views also as to the *mode* of building the Railway and its probable paying prospects are now publishing in the "British Colonist," in a series of three letters. I shall have them also distributed so that there can be no mistakes betwixt us on these important measures, all of which must be grappled with in the next parliament if we expect to keep pace with the growing intelligence and enterprise of the civilised world and the sister Colonies. And let me add that if the legislature had adopted the views I entertained upon the subject of the Coal mines in 1844, as expressed in the resolutions, now for the first time published, except in the Journals, the Province would be relieved from the degraded position it occupies with respect to the Coal monopoly and the Lieutenant Governor's salary would be only £2,500 sterling, instead of £3,000 sterling, and the money last year asked by Coal mines Committee (of which Mr Creelman was one) to test the validity of the Royal Charter granted the company in 1846, might have been saved. And let me remind you that this is the Charter the existence of which Mr. Creelman so stoutly denied in 1847—allow me also to inform you, that the lease to the Duke of York remained in the Provincial Secretary's office from 1826 to 1844 without ever becoming a Public Record, and I feel no small pride that my first motion in the House as your representative was to make it a public document. See Journals of 1844, Appendix No. 58. And let me further inform you that this omission on the part of the Representatives of the people is the more unaccountable when the Legislature passed an act, in 1841, incorporating the General Mining Association, giving them extraordinary privileges without knowing or investigating the nature and extent of the monopoly under which the Province is now suffering. It required no majority to bring forward this *unconstitutional* document to day light;—any member had the same parliamentary right and power that I exercised. Have you not a right to ask what the great statesman McLellan was about from 1837, to 1844, more especially when the act of Incorporation in 1841 would necessarily bring this important matter under his notice.—There was not a whisper from him *then* of *fraud and slack Coal*. No, gentleman all his legislative talent was *then* devoted to expend public money without authority—and pay the labourers in Indian Corn and tobacco, at exorbitant prices, and *pocket the Cash*, and from what I know of him I am equally confident that this is the ruling motive which *now* governs his ambition. In conclusion, Gentlemen, I will not insult your understanding by supposing that there is any among you who do not perceive at the first glance the absurd fallacies based upon false and ludicrous calculation which McLellan has employed to contrast the past and present state of public expenditure. But if the savings are as he represents them, does it follow that he and the few adventurers for office who claim your support, because they call themselves *great liberals*, are the only individuals who are equally glad that these savings have been

effected.—No, gentlemen, Conservatives as well as liberals are equally benefitted—and if the Conservatives, or Tories, as he likes to call them, are half as selfish as he gives them credit for—they are by the influence of self interest which he attributes to them *more* glad than he can be, because they are *more* selfish. You will have perceived that he has *republished* the statement made by Mr. Creelman in his last Electioneering card.—That the *Liberals* had reduced the expenses of managing the several Departments of the Government upwards of £8000 per annum." When I first saw this statement in Mr. Creelman's card, I put him down as a fit colleague for McLellan. But I now confess that I did him the injustice to believe that he was deceiving the people by stating what he knew to be untrue. It now appears that he was so culpably ignorant of the manner in which the saving arising from abolishing the Custom House and the deferential duties were brought about, that he made a similar statement on the floors of the House *after* his Election. I can imagine how chagrined the Financial Secretary's pride must have been, when his ignorant boasting, was exposed by the Hon. the Speaker, when he told him that the savings did not exceed at most £1000 and that *both parties* had equal claims to the credit of this particular saving as *the arrangement, was made by common consent*, when he was teaching little boys and girls how to spell their catechisms in Upper Stewiacke, and never dreamt of the honor and mortification which awaited him as Financial Secretary. Mr. Creelman can therefore plead ignorance for defence of his errors in this instance. Not so with McLellan, he had not only the authority of the Speaker and other members of the House fresh in his memory but he had other means of information which Mr. C. had not.—He was in the House when the arrangements were made, and used all the influence he possessed to *oppose* abolishing the deferential duties, the foundation upon which subsequent arrangements were built which led to this particular saving. You would naturally suppose, that ordinary common sense, would under such circumstances prevent him from any allusion to this subject; but no, gentlemen, he knew that on former occasions he had succeeded in deceiving you with the most barefaced and malevolent misrepresentations, and he thought he would try it again. But, gentlemen, he has referred you to the Journals as proof of his charges against me—I think I have fully exposed his calumnies and his forgeries. Let me now turn your attention to his doings, and in proof of what I have already stated, that he opposed the abolishing of the deferential duties, I will show, that he was not only content to speak against such a policy but he actually concocted *three* long Resolutions which may be seen on the Journals of 1847—page 666—7. To put his views on record I wonder he did not append them to his pamphlet—I assure you they are worthy of such distinction—a very fair specimen of his legislative capacity and a very fit accompaniment of his last literary effort. On page 667 of the same Journals we also find another proof of his liberal and enlightened views of local matters, and which is as follows:

"Mr McLellan then moved that the Bill be recommitted for the purpose of *striking out* all such parts thereof as give to the grand Jury any power in the cases of granting Licences." I need not tell you that such a proposition was rejected by every individual who *then and since* composed the Executive Council except Mr. Doyle, and Mr. McNab J B Uniack not being present.

One more example of McLellan's regard to the *local* interests of the back settlements, as an index of the policy that you and they may expect if they return him and his nominated colleague as members for this county. In the same Journals, page 719, you will see the following Resolution:

Mr. Ross moved that the House do come to a Resolution as follows:

Whereas, in the Session of 1845, the House of Assembly charged upon the 'Mod Monies of the County of Colechester the sum of Three Hundred Pounds, (payable thereout by instalments of £100 per year,) the same being an amount expended by Samuel Archibald, Esquire, in 1842, without due authority, on an alteration of the Main Post Road between Truro and Pictou, from which sum the back settlers in said county derived no benefit: *And whereas* the said back settlers have suffered hardship during the last two years from the Potato blight, and the failure of the Wheat Crop by weevil; and will, during the ensuing summer, from similar causes, feel more severely the want of the Road Monies which would, but for such reductions, be expended among them: *Resolved therefore*, that it shall be lawful for His Excellency the Lieutenant

Governor to expend the sum of Three Hundred Pounds upon the Main Roads in the back settlements of Colchester, and that this House will provide for the same next Session:

Which, being recorded and put, passed in the negative."

McLellan opposed this resolution and had the hardihood to say, that the expenditure was both judicious and indispensable. The House consequently rejected the application, on the plea that the members from the county disagreed among themselves. Recollect, Gentlemen, that the son of commissioner Archibald, who thus commenced an alteration, *without authority*, and which cost this county upwards of one thousand Pounds, and is yet unfinished, is the nominated colleague of G. W. McLellan, to represent this county, and you may then form an opinion, how things will be managed if they have the uncontrolled power to appropriate the road money of this county. They have not forgotten my past services in exposing the family Jobs of 1842 in building the Truro Bridge, the Bible-Hill Road, and Corn Hill; and they dread my humble ability to check their future designs. This is the head and front of my offence.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I regret exceedingly that I have been thus dragged forward to open a fresh old sore that should have been allowed to heal. *The* question which now ought to command the attention of every one interested in the prosperity of the county is the Railway. It has and will command my attention as the *backbone* of our future prosperity. And altho' I am decidedly of opinion that the best mode of constructing and managing it is by a Board of Directors appointed by the Government and the shareholders—yet I am ready to join in any rational scheme, that may receive the approbation of the legislature.

I am, Gentlemen, with sincere respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN ROSS.

Truro 5th May, 1851.

APPENDIX.

THE RAILWAY.

MR. EDITOR,—Sir: Now that the Honorable the Provincial Secretary's mission is brought to a close, and although he has not succeeded in obtaining from the Colonial Office the guarantee sought for Nova Scotia alone, yet the fault is not his. He has acquitted himself with so much ability, that all admit he deserves the gratitude and support of every man who feels an interest in the prosperity of the Province.—Let him persevere in the cause which he has so energetically espoused, and he will rally around the Railway the united support of whig and tory. The country watch with intense anxiety the next step to be taken by the Government. Another meeting of the present house, as proposed by Mr. Henry's resolution, or an immediate election, and a session early in July, are both open to them. Either of these courses will enable the promoters of the undertaking to make some progress this season. The honorable delegates may rest assured that if he hesitates to act with his accustomed energy at this particular crisis, the laurels which he has justly won across the water, will fade in the estimation of those who now duly appreciate the valuable services he so faithfully discharged in England. Let him abandon the idea of making the Railway a Government undertaking, and extend the same encouragement to the European and North American Railway offered to the Halifax and Windsor line in 1850. Let the Province take one half the stock, and the city of Halifax take a similar interest to what they offered also to the Windsor line £100,000. Let him introduce and pass a law enabling the counties of Halifax, Hants, Colchester and Cumberland, to take the remainder of the stock, on the security of each county, in proportion to the advantages which they would respectively derive from it—estimated according to the number of miles included in each county. The liabilities would be as follows:—

Province of Nova Scotia,	£400,000
County of Halifax,	100,000
	—£500,000
C'ty. of Halifax,	26 miles, £6,3000
" Hants,	10 " 24,000
" Colchester,	45 " 112,000
" Cumberland,	43 " 101,000
	300,000
124	Sterling, £800,000

Let us suppose these preliminaries arranged, and the cash realised in London at 5 per cent. for the Debentures of the City of Halifax and the Province, upon their respective guarantees, without any reference to the Colonial Office and its stipulations and conditions, and that from these two sources alone means could be so commenced as to commence operations. Suppose also the twenty-six miles in the County of Halifax offered to contractors, by paying one half money and the other half in debentures, payable by the County of Halifax, bearing five or six per cent. interest per annum, and apply the same rule to the rest of the counties until the whole is finished. Can any one doubt that the people who inhabit those noble and rich counties would hesitate for one moment to embark with all the energy they possess in the undertaking. But as the revenue of the Province would stand pledged for one half the stock, and as the money would be required at once, the interest would have to be paid from the treasury, until the whole line was in operation, and paying; and as all the inhabitants of the Province are equally entitled to participate in the stock with those in the counties through which the Railway passes, it should be a condition therefore that these counties in the first instance be entitled only to one half the £300,000, but in case any portion of the other half should remain unappropriated to general subscribers after a given period, then to be distributed among the counties as already stated. That the Directors should be ten or twelve, and to be appointed and elected annually, as follows:—the Legislature to appoint two, the city of Halifax one, the county of Halifax one, Hants one, Colchester two, Cumberland two, and one for every £50,000 held by general subscribers, or shareholders—the shares to consist of £25 currency or £20 sterling.

Province of N. S.,	20,000	Shares @ £20,	£400,000
City of Halifax,	5,000	" @ £20,	100,000
County of Halifax,	1,575	" @ £20,	31,520
" Hants,	600	" @ £20,	12,000
" Colchester,	2,800	" @ £20,	56,000
" Cumberland,	2,525	" @ £20,	50,500
Genl. Shareholders,	7,500	" @ £20,	150,000
			£800,000

My object in making these detailed statements is to teach the people what might and should be done,—and as Colchester incurs the greatest liability, I will test the probable effects of this scheme, if acted upon in that

county.—From Gay's River to Truro the distance is 21 miles, this would be the first section made, and until it is in operation would incur a liability, at 5 per cent. interest, of £1,500 the first year, and £2,500 the second year; this would be ample time to complete that section, and after that period, if the Halifax and Hants sections were made, the whole line would pay more than the whole interest for the county and Provincial debentures. But let us examine what do they get in exchange for incurring this liability. There are in Colchester from 4000 to 5000 able-bodied men, with their teams, who would earn on an average at least 5s. per day, and would work on an average 100 days each annually, while the Railway was making—making in the aggregate from £100,000 to £125,000. This sum distributed among them would enable them to pay 3 times the amount of the interest without feeling any inconvenience,—but when we add to the money thus earned by them, and three times that amount expended in the county by other labourers, to the enhanced value of their properties and the facilities of a market at their doors for their agricultural produce, the interest they would have to pay for a few years at most, would dwindle into utter insignificance, when compared to the permanent advantages derived from the Railway. The same reasoning applies with equal force to all the other counties thro' which it passes for they are similarly circumstanced in every respect, and I very much mistake the character of the people if they will brook any further delay in the matter. The Government may rest assured that the Railway and nothing but the Railway, will satisfy the well understood wishes of the people.

J. R.

Halifax, 18th April, 1851.

THE RAILWAY.

Pledged to no party's arbitrary sway,
I follow truth where'er she points the way.

MR. EDITOR,

Sir,—In a former communication I attempted to bring under your view the "ways and means" we possess, without any foreign aid to build our portion of the "European and North American Railway," and will now endeavour to shew that the investment will be a profitable concern to the parties who may embark in the undertaking apart from the enhanced value of Real Estate in the city of Halifax and the Counties through which it is to pass; which may be safely estimated two fold or cent per cent. in less than ten years. It will not only yield ordinary dividends to shareholders as soon as it is completed, but it will instil a spirit of enterprise and prosperity into the remotest nooks of the Province, which will eventually draw into the Treasury treble the amount necessarily appropriated in the first instance for its construction.

I am aware however, that there are some *stupid* individuals who entertain the opinion that the country is too poor and the population too few to maintain it in profitable operation, even should we possess the means to build it. They conclude that because many of the "railways" in Great Britain do not pay dividends equal to ordinary interest, therefore they will not pay in Nova Scotia. Such opinions are invariably expressed by individuals who never take the trouble of consulting any data, whereupon to base their hasty conclusions. They never compare the cost of constructing the 124 miles we have to build in Nova Scotia, with the average price of Railways in Great Britain, nor investigate the relative proportion of traffic which would pay handsome returns in this country, whilst in England they could not pay one farthing per cent. per annum. Were they to submit themselves to the drudgery of digging "facts and figures" from the railway records of other countries, they would discover that the average price of building railways in Great Britain exceeds £37,000, sterling, per mile, whilst the cost in the United States is under £7,000 sterling, per mile; altho' the Americans, (owing to the duty on iron, have to pay 50 per cent. more than they do in England) and owing to causes which any ordinary intelligence can comprehend, Nova Scotia can build railways 25 per cent. cheaper than the Americans. It necessarily follows, therefore, that the same traffic on a mile of railway in Nova Scotia would yield dividends six fold to what they do in England; or to make this point still more simple, the same traffic that would give 5 per cent. in England, would give 3 per cent. in Nova Scotia.

The returns for the week ending the first of February last in Great Britain, shew that £222,225 was received on 6,167 miles of railway, being an average of £36 per mile per week. A traffic equal to this on the 124 miles of the Nova Scotian section of the "European and North American" line, would enable the shareholders to divide 28 per cent. per annum. Whilst in Great Britain it does not pay ordinary interest. My object in eliciting this comparison is to shew the *prudent* and the *timid* that they have not investigated the subject. By referring to the report published by the Directors of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway Company, in July, 1850, it appears that the maintenance of way, locomotive power, train expenses, office establishment, station expenses, mails, general expenses and fuel, have been equal to £252 per mile, per annum, the distance being 47½ miles. Upon the same data the annual expenses of the 124 miles in this Province would be £30,243 per annum. I have also gathered from the same report that their receipts were as follows:

155,266 passengers, £79,148, } equal to an average
 43,067 tons of freight @ 800, } of 2s. 6d. each
 Mails 47½ miles, 3,267 } to 6s. 6d. per ton
 Sundries, 4,386, } to £17 6s. 6d. per mile.

£143,680.

Now, as the two countries are very similar in many respects, let us assume that the same number of passengers and the same quantity of merchandize is conveyed, at the same time, for equal distances upon the N. S. line as upon the Atlantic and St. Lawrence "line, both being the local traffic of the countries through which they pass, and we have fair data upon which to calculate our probable receipts, when the whole line is in operation.

155,266 passengers @ 7s. 1½d. 124 miles, £55,471 13 6
 43,067 tons merchandize, 10s. 6d. ½ ton, 85,522 0 0
 Mails, £17 6s. 6d. ½ mile, 2,108 0 0
 Sundries, 1,088 15 0

Deduct Working Expenses,

£94,495 8 6
 30,248 0 9

Net profits for one year, £64,987 8 6

And applicable to dividends and equal to 8 per cent. leaving a surplus of £2937 8s. 6d.

But in addition to the traffic arising from Passengers and merchandize the line passes through the Great Coal field of Cumberland. One stratum of which has been exposed at "Spring Hill," 15 feet thick of the best coal ever dug in Nova Scotia, or any other country. The European and North American Railway intersects this vein at River Phillip 80 miles from Halifax.

In order to show the immense advantages that must accrue to the Railway and the Province generally, from opening this coal field to the Halifax harbor, I will quote the opinion of Braithwait Poole, Esqr., as given in his report prepared at the request of the Directors of the London and North Western Railway, in July, 1850. Mr. Poole is no ordinary authority, being regarded in England as second to none with respect to statistical knowledge of the coal trade and Railway traffic of Great Britain. He says—"There are upwards of 3000 coal mines in Great Britain—the capital employed exceeds £30,000,000 in value—the "get of coals," as it is technically termed, amounts to 34,000,000 tons, the estimated value of which, at the pits mouth, is £10,000,000.

"To elucidate technicalities, there are generally three descriptions of coal, large, (best round, (common,) and small, (slack.) The first is used for house coal, and the highest charge for which is 7s. 6d. per ton, and is called "king coal," or "orrell coal,"—the second is used principally for engine purposes, the price of which at the pit's mouth is 4s. 8d. per ton, and the third is sold for smithies and brickfields, and these are sold at 3s. per ton." Being an average of 5s. sterling per ton, or 6s. 3d. currency.

Mr. Poole proceeds to state—"Much con-

troversy has from time to time appeared on the policy of Railway Companies carrying coal, and the profit derived therefrom; but few persons fully comprehend the subject—

The distance run, together with the description of waggon, are elements of great importance. I have watched the traffic carefully, for several years past, on every line in the kingdom, and I am decidedly of opinion that a long, heavy traffic, run at low speed, even at very moderate rate of charges, will produce more money for dividend, than the traffic of an express passenger train. I do not see why London should not be supplied in part from Lancashire coal field, there being quite as good coal for house purposes in Wigan as in Durham, and much better for gas coal. The "Ince Hall Company" would put upon the line at Wigan any time to suit convenience, full trade loads for London. Suppose they send only small trains of 30 waggons—5 tons each—150 tons; it would yield £75 per diem, which sum they would pay us immediately, if a regular trade and communication were established. In like manner the Clay Cross Company is ready to put 1000 tons daily upon the line, if you will only take it. Look at the profit." The arrangement thus proposed by Mr. Poole was shortly afterwards carried into effect, and coal from Wigan are sent to London, a distance, of 193 miles, at ½ penny per ton per mile. Let us suppose then that the Cumberland coalfield is connected with the Halifax harbor, and coals carried at one penny per ton per mile, and that 2 trains of 30 waggons, 5 tons each, were to arrive in Halifax daily, and estimate the number of trips annually at 280—being 74,000 tons, at 6s. 8d. freight. This item alone would add to the receipt of the company £24,500, whilst coal could be delivered in Halifax as cheap as they are now sold in Pictou or Sydney, at the shipping place.

This trade might and no doubt would increase ten fold in a few years. Only fancy the number of ocean steamers requiring coal in Halifax after the Railway is made, and also in the West Indies—the New England Atlantic Cities buying coal as cheap in Halifax as they now do in Pictou or Sydney, Halifax itself containing three times its present population engaged in manufactures, and some idea may be formed of the consumption of coal in Halifax, alone, 20 years hence. Me thinks I see some self-wise free trade politician smile at the idea of Halifax being a manufacturing city, yet the fact cannot be controverted, that the Railway once made, Halifax necessarily becomes the Newcastle, Sheffield and Glasgow, of British North America, and the West India Islands, simply because its position and the natural advantages it offers for the manufacturing of certain commodities are not inferior to any other locality—Great Britain excepted.

I have now before me a statistical table of Lowell manufactures for the year ending in January 1849. The capital employed is \$112,000,000—the number of spindles 310,000 all of which are moved by water power, yet the quantity of coal consumed were 25,000 tons, at an average price of \$8 per ton, 35,303 bushels of charcoal—46,000 lbs of wool per week, equal to 2,392,000 lbs per annum 70,000 gallons of oil—cord wood &c, all of these raw materials can be purchased at a much lower rate in Halifax than in Massachusetts, coal in particular can be sold in Halifax when the Railway intersects the Cumberland coal field, at one half the price of that in Lowell. On this article alone a saving of \$25,000 annually would be in favor of Halifax, a great portion of the immense capital employed in Lowell was expended owing to the physical difficulties encountered to divert the "Mirimac" to a motive power, the same number of Spindles could be put in motion within ten miles of Halifax with less than one tenth the capital required for the same purpose in Lowell. A few rods above Allen's Pail Manufactory, and within a gun shot of the line of Railway, there is a natural water power, equal to the celebrated one at Greenock which turns a wheel 70 feet in diameter, giving 250 horse power, with a natural reservoir $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant, of several miles in extent. The streams falling in Halifax harbour from the Dartmouth Lakes, Sackville and Nine Mile House, and the North West Arm are all so advantageously adapted by nature to manufacturing purposes that very little is left to art and science to accomplish. Labour is much cheaper in Halifax than in the United States. Wool and oil are some of our staple productions, the common necessities of life produced on our own soil are also much cheaper, a fresh Mackerel in Boston market costs 1s. 3d., a similar fish in Halifax 3d., in short an impartial and comprehensive investigation into our natural resources for certain Manufactures must convince the most obdurate disbeliever, that Halifax is destined at no distant period to furnish coal, cutlery and coarse cotton fabrics, now supplied by Sheffield & Glasgow, to all the British possessions in North America.

But the first step in the manufactory direction, in order to succeed, must be based upon a permanent tariff embodying the following principles: All raw materials for manufactures duty free; articles which we can manufacture ourselves from materials indigenous to our soil and climate a duty equal to that imposed by the United States on similar articles imported into the American Union. Articles of necessity which we can neither produce from the soil nor manufacture by art, a reasonable duty for revenue purposes.

Articles injurious to morals of the people to be treated nuisances.

In my next communication I will examine the policy of the Government making the Railway as a Government undertaking.

Yours Respectfully,

J. R.

April 4th.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing remarks I perceive that the transit of coal by Railway, long distances, is attracting particular attention in England. I copy the following article from the London Mining Journal of the 29 March, 1851.

"HOW THE PUBLIC BENEFIT BY RAILWAYS
—CHEAP COAL.—An arrangement most important to the London consumer of coals has just been come to by the "Great Northern Railway Company," and the owners of the best south Yorkshire Collieries for the transit of the proceeds to the metropolitan market. Much has been done by the London and North Western and Midland Railways, in breaking up the northern coal Monopoly, with regard to the London Consumers, this new course will greatly further reduce the price. Mr. Cotes Child is appointed sole agent for the sale of coals from Silkstone, Thornecliffe, Elsecar, Barnsley and Worsborough Pits. The produce, most excellent household fuel, will arrive in capital condition, and be supplied to our cellars for something like 17s. per ton. Barnsley is 170 miles from London, the rest are all in Yorkshire the capital of which is 195 miles from London, but as I do not know their particular locality I cannot state the precise distance, yet I have no doubt the average distance exceeds 150 miles, and yet the coal are sold at 17s. per ton!! J. R.

THE RAILWAY.

"Pledged to no party's arbitrary sway
"I follow truth where e'er she leads the way."

MR. EDITOR.

Sir,—The more I examine the project of constructing the railway as a government measure and the expenditure to be borne by the Revenue alone, the more I am persuaded that such an undertaking does not properly fall within the sphere of its legitimate duties nor the functions which pertain to the Executive. And I am equally certain that no government whether the design be considered as a party or coalition measure, can be formed in this Province, can submit any scheme, based upon such a policy, as will receive the sanction and approval of a majority of the Assembly as now existing, or that which is to succeed the present house, for the following reasons. The members representing the counties West of Halifax cannot be expected to regard the undertaking with such an interest as to consent to the hazard necessarily involved in absorbing the whole of the surplus revenue for this particular service, and thus forego the risk of losing their share of the road money in which their most important local interests are

so immediately concerned. The same considerations may with equal propriety be supposed to influence the Representatives of all the counties *East of Pictou* with the exception of Mr. McKeogney who as a member of Government might probably support such a measure rather than relinquish the position he now holds as an Executive Councillor. Now suppose all the Representatives of the counties immediately interested, viz. Halifax, Hants, Colchester, Cumberland and Pictou, were unanimous in support of the Government measure, and we know, that G. R. Young, Esq. while a member of the Government, always regarded the mode of building the Railway an open question, thereby intimating his dissent to such a policy. Now, the whole of the Representatives of those counties only number nineteen—thus lacking seven of a bare majority. Suppose that the Government on the other hand succeed in appeasing the local fears and interests of the distant counties, and carried their project through the legislature by taxing the counties through which the Railway passes to the extent of the probable drain upon the treasury and thereby relieve the distant counties from the apprehensions just mentioned. Is it very probable that the counties would tamely submit to direct taxation, for any purpose whatever, no matter how beneficial to themselves or likely to promote the general good, if they have no hand in the construction nor any voice in its future management? Certainly not. On the contrary they would regard such an act as of an arbitrary character, and would resist it. Every manly feeling of their nature and every faculty they possess would be brought to bear against a Government, that would take their means by the mere force of legal power, and shut them out by the same authority from participating in the profit that is to accrue from the expenditure of the means thus obtained, or exercise any influence on the supervision of the work as it progresses, or its economical management after it is in operation. The very idea of such power being conceded to a Government by a majority of the Legislature is repugnant to every constitutional view of responsible government, and would necessarily result in withdrawing from the Railway the cordial and unanimous co-operation of the whole people. This essential element to its success can only be obtained by combining the interest of the distant counties, through the medium of the treasury, with that of the counties most immediately to be benefited, by giving each and all an interest in the prosperity, construction, and management, equal to the liabilities incurred, as proposed in my first communication. Such a policy is in general operation in Canada, where all the counties are incorporated with the most gratifying success. In a late number of the *Colonist* you have informed us, that the county municipalities (corporations) between London and Hamilton, (Canada West,) have taken stock in a Railway

now being constructed between those two places, a distance of 80 miles, to the extent of £200,000.

Many of your readers are not aware, perhaps, that the Government of Canada has adopted as its policy to take *one half of the stock of ALL the Railways constructed within its jurisdiction.*—The Legislature necessarily having the discretion of granting charters *only* to such lines as may appear to be a judicious appropriation of the public funds and private capital. Thus commanding the united action of the Government and the enterprise of the people on all lines that are likely to be remunerative and open the resources of the country. These were the important elements wanting in the Windsor Railway, which materially prevented capitalists from embarking in the enterprise, and which rendered the policy of the Government, with respect to that undertaking, very objectionable, by selecting a line in the first instance which would for many years be a heavy drag upon the public revenue. The case will be very different after the resources of the country are developed to some extent by the "European and American Railway." The Windsor Line will then be a proper, because a paying undertaking, and is sure to follow as soon as the other is completed, perhaps before.

Advantage no doubt will be taken of the Eastern line as far as the Grand Lake, (15 miles) to connect Halifax and Windsor by much easier gradients than the line surveyed by Mr. Wightman.

But there are other grave objections of a political nature which can be urged against the Government having the *sole* construction and management of such an undertaking, which must have great weight in the estimation of every one who values the proper working of Responsible Government, without those influences which patronage necessarily brings to bear against the freedom of elections, and the consequent extravagance and corruption invariably arising from uncontrolled large expenditures of the public funds. These objections are so clearly to my mind set forth in the *British American*, of the 20th September last, that I copy them *verbatim*, and adopt them as my own opinions, without any limitation or qualification:—

THE COLCHESTER RAILWAY CIRCULAR.

The more we examine the scheme published by the Committee of "Ways and Means" in Colchester, the more are we convinced that they did hit the best plan yet to build the "European and North American Railway," and we see no reason why it might not be equally applicable to New Brunswick as Nova Scotia. We shall be greatly disappointed if the British Government do not at once accede to the request, said to be made by the Government of this Province, viz.—that the Lords of the Treasury at the recommendation of the Colonial Office, Indorse the Bonds of this Colony for the sum necessary to build the Road from Halifax to the border of New Brunswick—say £800,000 stg., or one million currency. This loan being effected, the Colchester scheme could at once be carried into effect with the utmost advantage

to all the Colonies. It would enable the inhabitants of this Province to take stock and make the Road by money obtained at a lower rate than any private Company in this country could negotiate whilst it would relieve the Revenue of the Province from one half the interest at once, and pay off the debt ultimately without any reference to the public Budget. These advantages are so apparent as not to escape the notice of our Financial Secretary and the other gentlemen of the Government, whose duty it is to examine every phase of this important measure, and adopt the most practical mode of carrying on the Railway, let the proposition come from wherever it may. On the other hand it will place the constitution and management of the Railway entirely in the hands of the people and the Government; and give the latter such a wholesome supervision as will secure to the public, a well digested management combining economy and security.

After the Grand Trunk will have been in operation and given practical proof of its utility and paying qualities, the same principles might be applied to the counties of Hants, Kings, Annapolis, Digby and Yarmouth; so that the Windsor line might not only be extended to Victoria Beach or Granville, but embrace the whole country to Yarmouth. The Counties of Pictou, Sydney and Guysborough, by the same means, would in a very few years reach the straits of Canso or Whitehead. Suitable Steamers to ply daily between Shelburne, Liverpool, Warrenburg, and Halifax, with proper encouragement from the Government would afford such means of transit as the growing importance of these counties require—steam communication between Halifax and Cape Breton, St. John's from the southern sea-ports and to Pictou from Inverness and Richmond, would necessarily follow. We expect to see the day when the hon. the Speaker, the member for Inverness, may leave Halifax in the morning, breakfast on board a Steamer in the vicinity of Pictou Island—dine at Mabon, make a speech to his constituency and sleep in his own CHATEAU in Halifax the same evening.

We have eschewed politics, because interests of a far higher order demand the advocacy and attention of every man who seeks the prosperity of this country. Old lines of political demarcation have been broken up; and the only true party for this country to support is one independent of both of those which have agitated the country of late years. The party the people of this country now sympathise with is the Go-ahead, or STEAM AND RAILWAY PARTY. We care not, therefore, what men are in power, so long as they discharge their duty promptly and prudently, under a sense of the important interest they have in charge; and it would be highly criminal for any man to endeavour to bolster up his party or damage his opponents by mixing up the Railway Question with the foetid mess of squabbles, prejudices and hatred. We are therefore decidedly opposed to the present Government taking this Railway movement under their sole guardianship, if it be intended thereby to glorify themselves at the expense of their opponents, and thereby alienate from the project some of our principal men of means, and a great body of the people. Let them not ruin all

hopes of a successful issue by moving in it for the purpose of manufacturing political capital.

It is our deliberate opinion, that the Railway may be built cheaper and conducted better by a Board of Directors acting under the responsibility of managing actually the scrutiny of their brother Shareholders, and at which Board the Government ought to have a suitable representation, than by any Government that can be formed by either Party, whether Liberal or Conservative.

If the "European and North American Railway" turn out one half as profitable as is generally supposed, and the Government retain it as a source of Revenue we would regard these circumstances as a public calamity and will use our position to warn the country to prevent it. Give any Government the means of replenishing its exchequer without consulting the well understood wishes of the people through their Representatives, and it necessarily has a corrupt and expensive administration, insidiously infusing extravagance into every branch of the public service. The Public Treasury would be used as a galvanic battery to electrify a system of centralization, ramifying every settlement between Cape Sable and Cape North—an influence deadly opposed to that self control which one of Responsible Government embodies, as necessarily belonging to the people. These considerations we throw out the more freely as we have doubt they will command proper attention from the Government and the Public, and be received in the spirit in which they are tendered.

In conclusion, permit me to ask what is the reason that British capitalists require such a large per centage from British Colonists, without the guarantee of the British Government when they are so ready to loan at very low rates, when that security is obtained. To mislead the difference between a guarantee and a guarantee is more a visionary than a real security. Provided always that the colony requiring the loan can show by the usual statistics that its solvency is unexceptionable. No colony can borrow money without the authority of law—that law must of necessity receive the sanction of Her Majesty, advised by the British Government—otherwise it is no law—and consequently the British Government become a party to any loan contracted under that law. It is self-evident therefore, that the honor and responsibility of the British Crown is as much pledged to the man who lends his money to the British Colony, as if lent to the British Government by the provisions of an Imperial act. In all events I should like to see the position thus taken controverted if it be untenable.

Yours, respectfully,

J. R.

May 2nd, 1851.

